to the Post Office. WO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE SIX COPIES FOR TEN DOLLARS. PAUL SEYMOUR,

PERLISHER tion of Negro Sinvery and the New Constitution,

BY ROBERT J. BRECKINGINGE.

I propose to lay before my countrymen, brief for this Commonwealth The position I occuof any candidate for a sent in the Convention, from the largest siave holding county in the mere folly to augment the number of slaves by Sule, renders this proper in itself, and respectful to the people. But in addition to such considerations I desire, whatever may be the issue chance, hereafter, to feel an interest in what is now possing, or in me, as one of the actors in hest scenes, may possess the means of forming scerate opinions and just conclusions in regard gevents, which I persuade myself are neither transical in their nature, nor likely to be un-

raitful in their effects. I shall not enter into detail on other topics reprected with the new Constitution. In an acidental way, I may find it proper to express many general principles, in the course of these remarks. But I have, already repeatedly and distinctly, given utterance, in popular addressst to my general sentiments on all the great nestions in dispute; an example which I think the people will do well to make all others fol-For although the question of slavery is the greatest, it is far from being the only great nestion at issue in the Commonwealth; and, noss I deceive myself, changes, at once absurfant dangerous, are very likely to be intro-

suced into the new Constitution. The papers which follow, and which are exa scient manner, the history of my connexion with the present subject at this time. They also how precisely the subjects in regard to which as my purpose to address you, and the aspects of those subjects which I design to present.—
Being official, I republish them as I find them. be invette resolutions, show on their face, hat they were offered by me. Those of me Frankfort Convention were, in their origiaifarm, drawn up by me, and all the amendneats afterwards made in them, were with my

Having already published in the Examiner be efficial accounts, and being pressed for room we omit these accounts and proceed with the

about to meet to amend the Constitution. But, in or under the new Constitution, a syseso guarded, in the Constitution itself, that it exercised, 1. Only prospectively; 2. And finally, this power of Emancipation, and all exercise of it, should be, not of ordinary egislation, but of the community itself, by an terms of a provision in the Constitution, allow or per for amendments, if such a clause should be inserted, according to the original plan of the Convention party: 2, or, under the Constithin, by means of an express provision in it, sing the sense of the people to be taken in the an, if the new Constitution should be med without what is called the open clause. Whether these principles be right or wrong, is le question which is submitted, in the first instace, to the freemen of this Commonwealth; and afterwards, to mankind at large, to posteriand to the Ruler of the Universe. That eyers my principles, and the principles of he Frankfort Convention, and the principles of he party called the Emancipation party of Kenacky, no candid man, who is capable of reflec-

Westers into Kentucky. It is, comparativeis small consequence to me now, what may s mid of one kind of slave importation, as stumons about the comparative value of the to created so great an excitement in the State. stews a moment, when such consideraas were of great weight. But it has passed. pation party of this State; and the Legislagation which has followed, and which may git easily have settled the whole question in placky, for the present, and for many years an driven to resistance by the recklese course the last Legislature, and of the pro-slavery em and party, throughout the State since the quistage adjourned, would gladly have acsood, in any just and moderate compromise, estions so exciting, and whose agitation were so rejuctant to commence, if they with henor or with a good conscience, ategraided it. For more than a year, before the Legislature, of 1848-9 convened, I persondeavored, by every proper means in my ding; and suggested to many of the leading en of the State, at once the danger of allow-I that storm to burst upon us, the means of thely averting it. I believed that the Emancidon party of the State, were willing, as a at, I thought the pro-slavery party ought to be ground, even against some of the concessions patiently consider what I have written—whethtion of that we will be great and general sub-divisions into which the great and general sub-divisions into which the subject naturally falls, when we attempt to tion of that year, into the Constitution of 1799— swers to what I have now briefly suggested and thus been ratified by two solemn and de- and whether he has heard or can imagine suf-

by; and the great principle of absolute non-importation which ought to have been conceded to the settled principles and earnest and that the subject is generally presented to the reasonable wishes of a vast portion, if indeed public mind in a form essentially different from it should not prove the majority of the people, that it which it exists in our fundamental law. is forced directly, by the course of events, upon | There is no constitutional definition of slavery, the decision of the community. I oppose, ab solutely, the importation of slaves into Ken- is no constitutional designation of those who Let me state, briefly, some of my leading reasons:

1. In my opinion, we have already as many slaves in Kentucky as is consistent with any possible view that can be taken of the subject, stitution of 1792, which was the first Constituunless we are prepared to say that slavery is, in I propose to lay before my countrymen, brief-it belf, a blessing, and that it is good to increase it by all possible means. If slavery is to con-tinue in Kentucky, there can be no possible adsetted with the Constitution about to be formed vantage in making the black race increase upon the Revolution, nor any principle of the Comthe white faster than it will do, by natural means; if slavery is ever to cease here, it is

2. The effect of the free importation o siderations I desire, whatever may be the issue slaves into the State, must necessarily diminish of the present struggle, that any one who may the value and injure the quality of those already here. Those who now own slaves, have a direct interest on both these accounts, in putting an end to the import trade of slaves. Those who own none, had infinitely better purchase, even at a somewhat higher price, slaves of good character known to them, than obtain from the slave-dealer the refuse slaves of other States. And the whole community has the greatest interest; if slavery is to be perpetual, to have nome born, and not foreign slaves-that is,

slavery in its best, and not in its worse form. 3. The idea that it is an injury to the slave purchaser to prohibit him to buy where he can buy cheapest, and a monopoly to the slave owner to prevent further importation, may seen consistent in the mouth of a free-trader, but is folly in the mouth of a man who is in favor of a tariff upon any thing at all, much less a protective tariff; for surely, protection in favor of good slaves and against bad ones, is the most reasonable of all forms of tariff. But in the mouth of the free-trader the argument is an illusion; for he has no right to carry on a traffic racted from the newspapers of the day, present that reduces the value of all the property in the State, of the sort he trades in, for his single benefit, and that to an extent many thousand times greater than the benefit he reaps; especialy when the traffic Itself is revolting to the public conscience, and must necessarily be detrimental to the public morality, security, pros-

perity and peace. 4. The very nature of the traffic itself, no matter what may be the objects or the effects of it, and the common judgment and conscience of mankind in regard to it, are reasons enough why a free, sensitive and generous people should refuse to sanction it. There is no plea for it that is not sordid, no defence of it that does not violate fundamental principles of right;

5. It is idle to say that the traffic in slaves, as merchandise, may be put an end to, but the persand 2. Nor should it be perpetuated in this sons should be allowed to import them for their immouspealth, by means of the Convention our use. To say nothing of the case with which all such distinctions may be evaded in the other hand, the people of Kentucky practice, the ultimate result is precisely the same in every possible point of view, both personally and publicly. Even the minutest deto purchase instead of purchasing out of hi power of Emancipation, thus retained, should gang. And moreover, the distinction on which make money by suping negroes, another may do it law-fully by selling them, and if it is right to import them for gain, to work, why is

wrong to import them for gain, to sell? 6. The whole process is in the highest degree injurious to the pecuniary interests of the community. A more effectual mode of deranging all the commerce of the State could not be de vised, than bringing back to it, for a few years in succession, the principal part of the value of its exports, in slaves. A surer way of reducing the value of all the products of land, and then of the land itself, could hardly be imagined, than stimulating production by importing slaves, without at the same time and in an equal degree, (neither of which would be the case) providing consumers for the increased slave property rests on the single fact, that they produce more than they consume, the differ ence being the master's profit. In Kentucky, the grand evil of our condition in a pecuniary point of view, is over production of the products of the earth, and consequent ruinous fluctuations in prices; and the grandes: aggravation of that evil in our power to produce,

would be the importation of slaves. 7. Perhaps the very greatest reason in favor sug preferable to another kind—and one prin. of the absolute prohibition of any further slave importation, is drawn from considerations conwine than another. My opinion is perfectly nected with the laboring classes of the white the vote of the people, and then, if it is not made surthat no more slaves ought to be brought population. Seven-eights of the people of this to their mind, help to reject it, and to retain the State, perhaps a larger proportion, do not own old one. In such contingency they may yet slaves; and the most of this immense majority find the Emancipation party their most effecstress law of 1833, whose modification in 1849 of our white people, live by toil; very many of tive allies; for surely every man of this latter them being in extremely indigent circumstan- party, will greatly prefer the old constitution ces. A wise and patriotic Statesman will con- to any new one, that may give to slavery, inhe act of 1849, was, beyond a doubt, part of a this wast and most important population, before palen designed to terrify and crush the Eman- he adopts it; and instead of abusing their confi- convention, and the bulk of that party, so far dence and misleading them to their own lasting from agreeing that slavery is an evil-which are at its last session, by that, and many simi-are at proceedings, are the real authors of all the will repay their noble trust in him, by enlight-tolerate—profess to consider it a great advanening them in regard to their own interest and tage and blessing which it is our duty to foster, minate, no man can tell how. A wise and duties, touching objects which lie out of the to enlarge and to perpetuate. They desire to detate course on the part of that Legislature, ordinary range of their own enquiries. And surround it, with new constitutional guaranthey themselves, however they may be deceived ties, to make it more difficult to be abolished, in for a time, by those they have been accustomed all time to come; and to secure the constitutiontome. Most of the leading men who have to confide in, must, at last, be forced by their al prohibition of manumissions within this misfortunes, to the sober consideration, and true State, and the constitutional guaranty of slave view of their real interests; and then they will importations into it. The burden of their disexact a deep recompense from all men, and all quisitions is the divine origin of the right of proparties that have conspired to delude and to un- perty of man in man, the marked approval of do them. This is the history of popular commotions and popular excesses, in all free countries; mankind cherish a just and a lasting abhorrence of those who wilfully deceive them. advantages of slavery, in a moral, social, and The party leaders of Kentucky may well pon- pecuniary point of view: the licentiousness, der, what they are laying up for themselves, in poverty, and degradation of the poor whites, in years to come, and for their memories when all countries where there are no slaves; the turthey are gone. The mass of the poor men of pitude, folly, and impracticability of all schemes this State, have just this alternative, to keep ne- of Emancipation; the utter unfitness of negroes out of Kentucky, or to move out of it gross for any other condition than slavery; and, themselves. Every slave that is brought here, as the conclusion of the whole, the necessity must create a market for what he produces, for larger surrender of power by the people in which he never does; or he must reduce, by the 17, to concede, in the new Constitution, the whole extent of what he produces, which he order that the institution may be placed on a faciple of slavery, and let it exist in Ken- always does, the chances of some poor white footing at once more firm and more durable. I sety, under that Constitution upon certain man, to make a comfortable living by honest industry. Now if the laboring whites are will-industry, without a struggle, this resit, I thought the pro-slavery party ought to be poverty, they have nothing to do, but to establish the same party was in 1799, to consider it better to have slaves in discussions have given birth, shall transmit to posterity a fair sample of the political literature of curr day, our children will hardly believe that was an occasion—a great occasion, one of the great occasion, one of the great occasion—a great occasion, one of the great occasion—a great occasion—a great occasion—base crises in the affairs of States, when wise, the moderate and patriotic men, could have establishment of the trade in slaves As for the commonwealth lead of the great occasion, one of the free such things were possible. In point of fact, the statements I have made come short of what I hear and read, every day. This party and these opinions are precisely opposed to what I consider true, wise, and ground. 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were to what I have now briefly aggested—
his the acts of highest sovereigning by two solumn and dehis the acts of highest sovereigning by two solumn and dehis the acts of highest sovereigning by the peohis the acts of high sovereigning by the peohis the acts of high sovereigning because of the State, not acts which may result in a manner at once just that their claim to have does not not their should take, of the state in the short serving the high state of right is unfounced and untransported in the state of high state of the State, not acts of their state of the State, and acts of their state of the State, and acts of their state of their state of the State, and acts of their state of their state of the State, and acts of the whole main the people of the State, and acts of their state of the State, and acts of the state of the state of the state

will abide the issue. The time to discuss modes 2.—I proceed to the second great principle, cent slave-holders, that these Emancipation power of change. If it were to be classed flight from a country they had betrayed. Slave importation, and shades of difference the power over slaves which ought to be retained slave-holders chiefly come. It is the old, the Those who are acquainted with the constitu-

> in this State, and there never was one. There are, or who may be slaves, nor any constitu-Let us set those slaves down in round numbers was. The clause in our present Constitution here is a very large interest, one that no wise tion of the State. Neither the old Constitution of Virginia, of which State Kentucky was even though they be conditional, yet constitu-tional guaranties. In my opinion, it would be an act of robbery for the State of Kentucky originally a part, not any general statute of the British Pariisment, in force in Virginia before men Law of England, nor any other sovereign under these circumstances, to take these slaves, or any of them, from these masters, or any of them, without paying the masters for them. It act, nor any imprescriptable usage, ever existed or can be plead as the foundation of slavery, as them, without paying the masters for them. it now exists in this Commonwealth. Both of is with such principles that 1 have uniformly declared that the new constitution ought to conour State Constitutions tolerated, and regulated slavery. Neither of them guarantied it, neither tain an explicit protection of this property, as both our former constitutions have done; and of them defined it. Both of them limited it; both of them retained, in the hands of the Legislature, the power to abolish it, at any time, approve the very words used in both those constitutions. These, also, are the opinions of the party with which I act; and they have, in every form and on all occasions, declared that they and by any method, on the solitary condition of paying for the slaves; and both furnished the were for no other Emancipation than that which should be prospective, and operate exclu-Legislature with the valimited power of taxation, by which to provide the means for that use, whenever the Legislature thought proper to sively on slaves born after the plan had been mause them in that way. Our early laws say that tured, voted by the people, and commenced its those may be slaves in Kentucky, who were legal existence; and that they were for securslayes, at a particular period named in them, ing as absolutely as under the present constituand that the descendants of the females of those then slaves, may also be slaves. Upon these being and to be born up till the occurrence of grounds slavery has ever stood, in this State that event. Amongst candid men it seems to f the Constitution of Kentucky should be perme there can be no dispute, either as to the feetly silent on the subject of slavery, then there matter of fact or the matter of right, on this

part of the subject.

Claims, however, are set up on behalf of the

and to slavery; or by any modification of those slave-holder far beyond this, and of a kind truly aws, that any Legislature might think proper remarkable. He is entitled, so one claim runs, to adopt, to modify the whole institution in any to keep his present slave property in Kentucky way they thought fit. It is manifest, therefore now; therefore, it is a broach of honesty and upon the slightest consideration of the facts of fair dealing to prevent him, and all coming the case, that the people of Kentucky have alslave-holders, from keeping other slave property ways possessed, and have always been fully here in all time to come; wherefore, if this be aware that they possessed, an unlimited power so, the State having once tolerated slavery, can over the whole subject, whenever they were asnever become a free State. And again, he is sembled in Convention. It is further manifest, entitled now to the future increase of his slaves, on the slightest consideration, that this power, and therefore no future increase of them to the so far from being limited in its own nature, end of time, can even be put under such circould not in its very nature, be parted with, ex-cept by express constitutional provisions, nor holding them in Kentucky. Such pretensions, even then, for a period longer than the existence if they were founded in reason, would render of the particular Constitution which contained all human progress impossible, and place socithe special provisions. It is therefore utter-ty in chains at the mercy of all despotisms, ty absurd, both in point of fact and in point aristocracies, close corporations, feudal tenures. by absurd, both in point of fact and in point of fact and in point of reason, to contend, as many do, that the Constitution of the United States, or any past act of sovereignty exercised by tife people of Kentucky—or the nature of the people of Kentucky—or the nature of the construction of the fact and in point of fact and intolerable prescriptions, that have cursed the world and been obliterated by the advance of fact of fa se smit these accounts and proceed with the no mode of carrying it on that is not fraught on the select.

It is great propositions put forward by the select of the great propositions put forward by the select of lear, that there is not only a high propriety, both the old ones, fully and clearly express them and themselves on the subject of siavery, and by no means leave a subject of such magnitude and importance, either in total silence, or undetermined. To do this intelligently and wisely, in the present state of public opinion, the full consideration of the sub
by a very urgent necessity, that the people should, is the new Constitution, as they did in contemplated. The plan I have long ago published, and by which my principles are to be indeed, and by which my principles are to be judged, proposes, that under all circumstances the mother shall, for the expense of importance, either in total silence, or undetermined. To do this intelligently and wisely, in the present state of public opinion, the full consideration of the sub
iic opinion the full consideration of the subby a very urgent necessity, that the people sonally and publicly. Even the minutest details may be the very same in both cases, for
the ultimate purchaser has only to make the
regular trader his agent before the fact, instead
of after the fact—that is, give him an order
to purchase instead of purchasing out of his
to purchase instead of purchasing out of his
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The property t the whole difference rests is absurd, for a man has as much right to make money by trade as by labor; and sarely if one man may lawfully stitution of 1792, before they made that of to obstruct the great scheme of the Commondition they occupied before they made the Constitution of 1792, before they made that of
to obstruct the great scheme of the Commonit is the non-slave-holding population of
they are again, for the third time, called on to
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they are again, for the third time, called on to
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settlement, on fair and just terms, of the
the settlement of politics? If you think slaves proposition on the settlement, on fair and just terms, of the
settlement of politics.

Congression of particles of miner politicians, the pretexts of pardecide what use they will make of this power, the people should determine to make Kentucky in regard to slavery. Will they make a greater a free State. Whatever his slaves may be surrender of it than they did in 1792, or 1799?

would be an absolute power in the Legislature,

by a simple repeal of existing laws to put an

Will they make a less surrender of it than they

did at those periods! Will they make for the

third time, precisely the same surrender of pow-

er by the new Constitution? These are the real

uestions, that present the whole subject, and

exhaust it, and determine the future condition

They are questions of vast moment to the

people of Kentucky; and their decision will

effect, probably for a long course of time, and

very deeply, all the great interests of the State.

There are very few candidates for the conven-

tion who are known to have avowed themselves

as favorable to the last of the three preceding propositions; that is to the transfer, word for word, of the clause in regard to slavery, from the constitution of 1799, to that of 1849, as it had been transferred from that of 1792, to that of 799. This is remarkable; for certainly a very large party in Kentucky occupy this precise ground; and it is strange that they have not ought to be represented in the convention. But this party has, if they will act wisely, an ulterior security. Let them insist on having the new constitution submitted, for ratification, to perity of the State consequent upon a change price of land over this State, would produce the nett sum of \$71,000,000-to which add the white people had been substituted for the like or a smaller number of slaves. My deep conriction is, that this State would gain many times the entire value of all her slaves, by the proposed change, and that the slave-holders macives would be amongst the largest gainers by the event. I am aware that it is objected to such statements, that the negroes are a far better population than the Irish, Dutch and Yankees, who would, it is said, supply their places. To which I reply, in the first place, that our own children would, to a great extent, fill up the vacuum, if we did not force them to seek a home elsewhere, by preferring our neigh-bor's slaves to our own flesh and blood; and, in the second place, I will merely say, it seems to me it is the highest proof that one sees his cause to be desperate when he resorts to arguments. as once inhuman and absurd, in order to sustain it. The labor of the foreign population now n America, adds more every year to the national wealth, many times over, than the total value dreds of millions of acres of land, worth nothing, simply for the want of people to till it; and there are tens of millions of poor and oppressed men, who are thus derided, that would be made happy by possessing it—and at the same time add to the wealth, the power, and the developement of our great empire. Scattered over Ken-

the subject naturally falls, when we attempt to consider it in a manner at once just and practical. My desire is to be distincly understood, to all who own them; but that their claim to

slave-holders chiefly come. It is the old, the hereditary, and to agreat extent the large slave-holding interest of this State that is now plead-holding interest of this State that is now plead-curing it, by the common voice, out of the reach ly affecting. This great, upright, simple-hearttional history of slavery in this State, are aware ing the cause of freedom here. It is a great of disturbance. If it were a universal necessi- ed population is, in the main, thoroughly sound retribution, which, perhaps, God may accomplish, and it is a striking providence, that such which all were benefited, and which was, in very—they do not wish it increased—they are A fraction of the slave-holders, perhaps it serve to be sanctified and placed by constitution
or than it is, far less to make it perpetual. A fraction of the slave-holders, perhaps it may be two-thirds, or even nine-tenths of the slave-holders, perhaps it all safeguards beyond the power of the State. But viswing it as it actually is—an institution whole number own the larger part, or suppose, But viswing it as it actually is an institution if you like, the whole of the slaves in the State. in which only a small portion of the people are interested at all-to which a much larger numat 200,000 and their value at \$60,000,000. Now ber are utterly hostile than there are of those who are benefited by it; a means of incalculaor just man can for a moment disregard. And it is held by ancient, and, as to their binding force. oppression and wrong to the slaves themselves, unquestioned laws, and by long continued, and conceive upon what pretext the small portion of the people, composing the pro-slavery part of the slave-holders, can demand of the whole community an act, which will strip themselves of all effective constitutional power over a subject concerning which there is the highest pubtie necessity that ample powers should be re-tained. And one is equally at aloss to conceive, such a demand. Freemen are to surrender all

power, that masters may exercise all power! There is the whole matter in twelve words. 2. There is another and far more important interest to be considered—the great non-slave-holding interest. The mass of the people—sev-sn-eights of the whole population, the over-whelming majority of the voters of the State, 120,000 to 20,000 at the very least; what are he interests, what are the rights, what are the obligations, what are the duties of this great and preponderating population? This is the element that must necessarily and finally, now and at all future times, decide this and every other question in this State. They may be deindeed, deceived, paralysed—carried against their interest and their duty, for the time being. No matter: it is a question that must recur and recur again; a question lying at the heart of the ommonwealth; a question of bread, of reli-

gion, of freedom; a question of successive generations. Here stand the masters of the question. And if this struggle produces no other result, for the time, but this, it is worth the loss of the great battle, to have brought distinctly upon the field of conflict, the real power that must, at last, determine the great strife, and that can, by no possibility, determine it, finally,

in but one way. There is, in the bosom of all human societies desire and a power of ceaseless progress. It has struggled always, it is struggling now, it will struggle to the end. Many fallures have passed—many are still to come. Not until men

attempt is made all over Kentucky, to make the were now to introduce slavery there; for the monucealth, is the great party to these proceed-State.

State.

The slave-holders have the highest possible interest in settling this whole question, on modifice state, on conditions anything like as advantageous to the masters, to the slaves, or to the slaves, or to the slaves and the state of the ble that the mass of their own children will be-long to the class of non-slaveholders. It is cer-of thirty or forty years the whole affair will be munity is called to act in the greatest matter tain that that class can, whenever they think in a very different position from what it is now. about which it can be engaged. The sovereign proper, by their immense preponderance, dis-Kentucky, with 600,000 white persons and 200,- authority, once more, after the lapse of half a pose of the whole question as they please; and it is beyond a doubt certain that they must, at least, see that it is their interest to change the matter essentially. No class of persons would slave, and the whole South fully supplied with some manner the tages of affairs. The whole order of society is to pass before it in review, and the foundations of the State to be slave, and the whole South fully supplied with some manner the tages of affairs. The whole order of society is to pass before it in review, and the foundations of the State to be slave, and the whole South fully supplied with some manner that they must, at labor, presents a problem widely different from Kentucky with 700,000 white persons and 200, one of affairs. The whole order of society is to pass before it in review, and the foundations of the State to be slave, and the whole South fully supplied with some manner that they must, at labor, presents a problem widely different from Kentucky with 700,000 white persons and 200, one of affairs. The whole order of society is to pass before it in review, and the foundations of the State to be slave, and the whole South fully supplied with some fully supplied with some fully supplied with some full supplied with some fully supplied with some fully supplied with some full supplied with some full supplied with suppl slave labor. The one is a question easily solved, gathered during those fifty years, whatever pothe plow without injury, even before the 10thcompared with the other; and all the increased litical wisdom has brought forth, or profound Keep the fields clean, whether your intention is from a mixed, to a free white population, than difficulty must lie at the door of the non-slave-holders, which the owners of slaves gener-holder, if his vote produces it. Indeed there is of mankind produced during the most eventful ceed cotton. It will save labor next year. no view of the facts which can be taken, that does not make the 120,000 non-slaveholders out of the 140,000 voters of the State, responsible of the 140,000 voters of the State, responsible to the state of the state, responsible to the state of the stat

responsibility. They are bound to consider all the rights and all their duty fairly to estimate, along with all the your hearts and suswer it! greatest number, for the longest time, is the just rule of all political and social systems. Now the institution of slavery is in no point of view a benefit to those who own no slaves, and is, in most respects, an evil, an injury, and a curse to them. The rights of labor are as an other effect, than to reduce her strength care as the rights of property, and fully as important time to strip off the blades; besides, there will be secured time to strip off the blades; besides, there will be ging for freedom, and looking to this country for examples of liberty, justice and right?

Is it wise in the face of a world strugtime to strip off the blades; besides, there will be again in the end; for it will secone be secured from rain. Let the ears be well cured before stacking.

Plowing between Late-planted Corn, Potatoes, and pumbers, when compared with her state. I have considered this question, here, purely in the light of an increase of the slaves, by important end party, throughout the State, openly took of 1792, which had passed from the Constitutions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me patiently consider what I have written—whethtions of the state seem to me to have a fair and well founded claim to a part
to show the state seem to me to have a fair and well founded claim to a part
to show the state seem to me to have a fair and well founded claim to a part
to show the subject naturally falls, when we attempt to of what they demand, namely, the complete patriotic, ought not to desire to increase or to perpetuate slavery at the expense of the great majority of the white people of the State; nor should they, if they are good citizens, desire to have slavery continue in the State after the set-

er than it is, far less to make it perpetual. This is the settled feeling of Kentucky, beyond

all reasonable doubt. It is, no doubt, also true, that they do not wish to be driven into any of June had been \$27,180. scheme of Emancipation at present. They have not fully considered the subject. They are not satisfied as to what would be precisely the proper course. They desire to do what fair and liberal by the owners of slaves, and if possible, to satisfy them, in the great move-ment whenever it is made. These are right impulses, and should be sacredly respected. Still farther, they saw and felt that it was neither wise nor safe to part with power to control this and perhaps every other subject, more ef-fectually, then under their former constitutions; Referred to the Committees on Versions. and with one accord the convention party in Kentucky, in the famous address of 1847, signed by eighty-one persons, bowing to this as a settled public opinion, pledged themselves to what they supposed was the exposition of it, namely, the open clause, as to the mode of appropriation was made. amending the new constitution. I interpreted differently that public sentiment, and have always opposed that open ctanse—deeming it evil in principle and mischievous in practice. But presuming, from the state of parties as late as the books among sailors, many of whom read two months ago, that it might be made a part

of the constitution, the Frankfort convention, of April 25, simply recognised that probabilopen clause, shaped its course so as to act with pen clause, shaped its course so as to act with From the Rev. Mr. Perkins, of the Mission From the Rev. Mr. Perkins, of the Mission open clause, shaped its course so as to act with Of late, the Democratic press and party in now denounce this open clause as an abolition

contrivance, though endorsed originally by the in, heading the famous list of the SI: and the Whig pro-slavery press and party are rapidly discovering the same light, and turning the same corner. And this is but a sample of what has happened, in connection with this whole subject of the call of this convention, the plan to increase and perpetuate slavery. From beginning to end, the whole proceeding has been a disreputable party increase. been a disreputable party juggle. The conven-tion was not called for any great or well conunited in calling it. The scheme of amend-ments and the famous address of the eighty-one,

the people should determine to make Kentucky question of slavery here. Their position qualthes them far better than if they were masters ty leaders, and the influence of mere party worth in the market they will bring; what they of slaves, to appreciate all those considerations names and party ends, deter or seduce you into bring is his; and no act of ours will have reduced their value, in all human probability, a
pinch of snuff. If he prefers to retain them as
posed interest are so apt to blind the master.

If he prefers to retain them as
posed interest are so apt to blind the master.

The members present of whom 20 were ministers of his own slaves, it is his own affair, and any Their duty to the State, is as complete as that platform of the Frankfort convention—no in-State to which he could remove them by sale, he of the slave owners can be, and they are bound crease of slavery—no perpetual establishment could remove them to, still more certainly as to do what, in their judgment, its glory and his own. If he remains here, selling his slaves prosperity demand. Their immense majority and violent Emancipation—but time to think out of the State, very well—if he prefers to re- makes them responsible for the result, whatmove with them, very well again; the matter ever it may be; for they will produce that rewould be at his own free disposal, and the quessult by the course they take. If they now de-

price of all the slaves sold, and the corresponding advance in the value of all the products of the issue of a question which it is in their power, and which it is their duty, as the great the earth after three or four hundred thousand which it is their duty, as the great majority, to determine. Responsible to God, when they are met, should not for the like white nearly the same to the slave to the slave to the slave to the like the same and t to the State, to the masters, to the slaves, to Kentucky; for all Kentucky, and for her high- buds; for, if the land be good and the season

Now is it for the interest, the honor, the as the lower ones, whereby two or four more riches, the power, the glory, the peace, the ad-It is by no means my opinion that the nonslave-holders should disregard the rights of the
slave-holders, or fail to consider their interests.

The power, the property the place, the advancement, the happiness, of this great Commonwealth, to exert her sovereign power, in such a way, and to the intent, that involuntary, sential to promote the growth and equalise the They are bound to consider all the rights and all hereditary, domestic negro slavery shall be in- ripening of the leaves, this operation should the interests involved, and to act justly in re- definitely increased and everlastingly establish- be commenced the instant the bud shows a dis-

rest, and which are the controlling interests, in some respects, because they are far the greatest of all. They and their families are twice as numerous as the slave-holders and their fa lies and slaves; 7 or 8 times as numerous, not counting the slaves. The greatest good of the greatest number, for the longest time, is the greatest number, for the longest time, is the greatest number. It is the slaves as numerous, not condemning and denouncing? Is it her sacred duty to set at defiance the voice of the human the between the ear and stalk. The stalks should race? Is it laid upon her by an irresistable ob-

cred as the rights of property, and fully as important. The white laborer has a right as perfect and far more important, to make his living her position on the scale of States must sink (squashes,) and the earth drawn towards them by the sweat of his brow, as the master can have to property in his slave; and he is any thing but wise, if he consents to make constitu-

> wasting the substance which should cherish her own suffering children, and bringing evil and temptation over every threshold they pass? Is it laid on her by some fatal necessity, to see, from generation to generation, her chil-

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY .-The monthly meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society was held on Thursday afternoon last, Hon. L. Bradish, Vice President, in the chair.

The Treasurer presented the state of the accounts, showing that the receipts of the month

The General Agent stated that the issues of the month had been fifty thousand copies of the Bible and Testament. Six new societie were recognised as auxiliaries one in India a, one

Letters from the British and Foreign Bible Society respecting a version for the Irish, and Referred to the Committees on Versions.

From the Ahmednieggar Mission, India, ask-

to the Nestorians of Persia, expressing the gratitude of the mission for the aid received to the State, so far as they are pro-slavery, have print the Bible in modern Syriac, and stating seen new light and turned a sharp corner, and the progress in that work. The revival of religion among that interesting people has inreased the desire for the more abundant suphigh names of Thomas Metcaife and Ben. Har- ply of the Scriptures; and the special adaptedness of the pure word of God to the soul of man, has been exhibited by many striking facts, in the history of that work of grace.

Grants of Bibles were made to Ohio, Vermont, to the Home Missionary Society for California, to distribute the Bible there, organise

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA -- From a state ment made last Sabbath evening at the Fifth clearly see the real and the only security for their great development, will those failures cease. In 1847, is a State paper which for the reputation of the results of the reputation of the re

There are in Northern India 100 missionaries, 134 native assistants, 130 schools, 10,576 scholsome shadow of an equitable claim on the State, for this, in case it were taken from him and the women left to him. But nothing of the sort is Bible and free institutions are teaching the human race. It is not lost on us. Perhaps not bundled to be probabilitied. The plan I have long ago pub-

members present, of whom 20 were ministers of the Gospel, not including delegates from foreign

Barrist Missions .- The Missionary Union, says a report submitted at its anniversary meettermine to perpetuate slavery in Kentucky, say if, man by man, you were asked what you ing, recently held at Philadelphia, "has closed in every conceivable result be decided by himthey will stand very much in the position that
self. Yet it is upon this state of case, that the
the people of Massachusetts would, if they

3. The Commonwealth herself, the whole Comthe people of Massachusetts would, if they
the people of Massachusetts would, if they
the great party to these greated. question is, at this moment, as completely in ings. The men of all parties, who love the service. The missions, as a whole, have wrought robbed of \$60,000,000; and to persuade them their hands as it could be if there had never State, more than they love their party or even a greater work, contributors have shown a that they have some sort of mystical power to force the eternal continuance of slavery in the force the eternal continuance of slavery in the controlling the subject under the subject under the power of controlling the subject under the fields in which they are planted have given pro-

AGRICULTURAL.

Tobacco Fields.-Pay particular attention to their own families, to posterity, and to man-kind. Let them, therefore, judge fairly and act justly, under the burden of this immense. Now is it for the interest, the honor, the last the lower ones, whereby two or four more gard to all. Amongst the rest, they themselves ed in her bosom? Men of Kentucky, ask your-have great and peculiar interests which it is selves that question; then lay your hands on immediately by removing the suckers as fast as

ton-gathering season is approaching rapidly, prepare baskets and sacks for picking, as your isure will admit, particularly wet or rainy

Making and Collecting Manure.—This may

Kitchen Garden.—Sow beets, carrots, cabbagee, endives, shalots, dwarf and pole beans, lettuce, (shaded situation,) mustard, tomatoes,
(cover the seed,) melons, cucumbers, squashes,
ludian Corn, peas, turnips, (in new ground,)
radishes, (long andahort,) split onions, canliflower, and roquet. Frequently stir the sarth
around your plants in dry weather; water them
in the evening. Frepure your ground for removing plants that are coming an.

Fruit Garden, Shrubbery, \$60-Preserve
white or pellow cling stone possess, and wild
and domestic piums as soon as ripe. Destrey
suchers about trees.